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Submitting Material for Publication

We encourage our readers to consider submitting material on early North American numismatics to *CNL* for publication. In general, this includes coins, tokens, paper money, and medals that were current before the U.S. Federal Mint began operations in 1793. However, there are certain pieces produced after the 1793 date that have traditionally been considered part of pre-Federal numismatics and should be included. We cover all aspects of study regarding the manufacture and use of these items. Our very knowledgeable and friendly staff will assist potential authors to finalize submissions by providing advice concerning the text and help with illustrations. Submissions in either electronic or hard copy format, should be sent to the editor via the e-mail address given above or through the ANS at their postal address. Electronic text submissions should be formatted in Word with separate grayscale images.

Editorial

Since CNL-152 came out your humble editor has had the good fortune to experience a remarkable case of numismatic serendipity:

John Kleeberg's contribution on the circulation of Dutch *Leeuwendaalders* in North America in the last issue was so stimulating that it finally pushed me to write up the story of the Arabian gold chequins that came to North America through the same trade channels as the *Leeuwendaalders*, but which are virtually unknown to most colonial collectors. Discussion of the chequins and some related coins makes up the main article in this issue.

I had actually planned to produce this article for CNL for years, but John's work finally compelled me to do the research and write it. By chance, while I was working on the paper, the ANS took an enquiry from the National Geographic Channel about a mysterious broken silver coin uncovered during filming of the reality show, *Diggers* (about a couple of colorful metal detectorists and their finds). Although the finders initially thought they had a worn Spanish-American one-*real*, by an amazing coincidence it turned out to be nothing less than the first Islamic silver coin ever documented as being found in North America. The coin was a perfect chance discovery to parallel the gold chequins, which to date have **not** been found, but which we know circulated here through documentary evidence.

In addition to a look at the Islamic coins that came to North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we also present an *errata* list to correct some items in the text of Philip Mossman's groundbreaking new book, *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial and Pre-Federal America*.

This issue also continues the series of plates describing and illustrating the ANS holdings of FUGIO coppers (forgeries and replicas), Connecticut coppers (Miller 1786 2.1-A to 3-D.1), and New Jersey coppers (Maris 43-d to 45-e), and the silver coins of Massachusetts

Bay (Oak Tree shillings Noe 5 to 9 / Salmon 3-D to 7-Ei).

On a somewhat serious note, I would like to draw attention to the fact that submissions for inclusion in *The Colonial Newsletter* have dropped precipitously in the last year. While I can report upcoming offerings from our Contributing Editor, Philip Mossman, and our loyal counterfeit copper contributor, Roger Moore, as well as some New Jersey and St. Patrick bits and pieces, we really need to get some new names and new ideas in these pages. The variety of people writing their different—and sometimes differing—thoughts on all aspects of colonial coins used to be one of the great strengths of CNL. It should be again.

I know there are many collectors out there with good ideas and who are not afraid to write them down. I see them all the time in the *C4 Newsletter*. Surely there is more than enough wealth in terms of individuals and discoveries to go around so that CNL and C4N can again be complementary publications without running the constant risk that one will swallow the other.

Even serendipity has limits.

Oliver D. Hoover
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Two important colonial numismatic works now available for pre-order from the ANS:

New Jersey State Coppers by Roger S. Siboni, John L. Howes, and A. Buell Ish

As William Sheldon eloquently put it in *Penny Whimsy*,

Old copper, like beauty, appears to possess a certain intrinsic quality or charm... [with] an almost living warmth and personality not encountered in any other metal.... You see rich shades of green, red, brown, yellow, and even deep ebony: together not elsewhere matched in nature save perhaps in autumn leaves....

New Jersey State Coppers shows that never were these words more true than in the case of the coins struck for New Jersey by Thomas Goadsby, Albion Cox, Walter Mould, and Matthias Ogden. By way of introduction, the authors fully discuss the often tumultuous history of the New Jersey copper coinage and its creators alongside the equally compelling story of the men, like Dr. Edward Maris, who first appreciated the “living warmth and personality” of the coins and formed the great collections of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Every known New Jersey die variety is presented in minute detail with lavish enlarged full-color illustrations, condition censuses, as well as commentary on die states and other notable features.

The authors also include such supplementary material as the original documents related to the eighteenth-century coining venture, imitations created for the collector market in the nineteenth century, as well as suggestions for developing a personal collection. *New Jersey State Coppers* will surely become the primary tool for the study of this coinage and the basis for deepening the understanding and appreciation of its charm as old copper.

From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial and Pre-Federal America by Philip L. Mossman

Ever since coinage was developed in ancient Lydia, an element of society has sought to debase the coin of the realm for personal gain not only by counterfeiting, but also by shaving away precious metal. Currency debasement was not confined to the proletariat since throughout history various monarchs increased their royal revenues, or seigniorage, by reducing the quality of the coins' specie content or its weight standard. The current text follows closely the course of royal English copper coinages whose high potential profit made them an ideal prey for counterfeiters. These forgeries flowed freely into the colonies where they overwhelmed, and eventually collapsed, the small change medium but not before various states sought to correct the evil of this imported copper trash.

Great attention is paid to Great Britain's mercantilistic policies which shaped the character of the currency in the North American colonies where chronic hard money shortages encouraged counterfeit coinages of all stripes whose actual manufacture and circulation is examined in great detail. Colonists further sought to expand their monetary pool by printing bills of credit to meet the exigencies of the French and Indian Wars. This new paper currency likewise became the target for forgery and a battle royal ensued between the colonial treasurers and bands of counterfeiters as they competed to outsmart each other. But as “the weed of crime bears bitter fruit,” many counterfeiters were apprehended and punished for their evil deeds.

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THE REAL FORGOTTEN COINS OF NORTH AMERICA: ISLAMIC GOLD, SILVER, AND COPPER FROM THE EASTERN TRADE

by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

In 1992, William Anton III and Bruce Kesse published *The Forgotten Coins of the North American Colonies* in an attempt to stimulate collector interest in English and Irish counterfeit coppers that circulated (or may have circulated) in North America. This book ultimately spawned a variety of subsequent studies published in the pages of the *Colonial Newsletter* or sponsored by James Spilman's Colonial Newsletter Foundation.

While these coins may have been forgotten once, they are much more memorable now, especially thanks to the recent release of Philip L. Mossman's *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currency in Pre-Federal North America*. Nor are they likely to be forgotten anytime soon by collectors active today. However, there still remains a shadowy and unfamiliar coinage that circulated, in North America in the seventeenth century which is rarely, if ever, discussed by the Colonial numismatic community. Indeed, it has been so thoroughly forgotten that only a very few are probably aware that it ever existed.

Inspired by John Kleeberg's masterful treatment of the *leeuwendaalders* and the Madagascar trade in the last issue of *CNL*, it seemed fitting to follow up with an article on the Islamic coins with which they often circulated on the coasts of the Red Sea and in the English colonies of North America.

Ducati, Chequins, Sequins, and Zecchini

In the late 1540s or early 1550s, the *ducato*²—a Venetian gold coin of 3.5 g and .986 fineness (Fig. 1)—was redesigned and rechristened the *zecchino* after the civic mint (*zecca* in Italian) in order to distinguish it from a new silver denomination also called the *ducato*. Formerly the term *ducato* was reserved for Venetian gold coins and their imitations featuring the Doge of Venice receiving his authority from St. Mark. The introduction of the silver *ducato* now opened the door to all manner of accounting confusion and so to avoid potential difficulties the old *ducato* was transformed into the new *zecchino*.

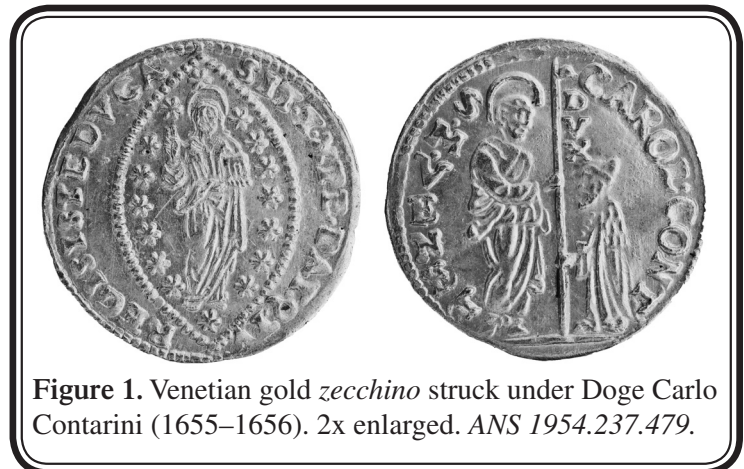


Figure 1. Venetian gold *zecchino* struck under Doge Carlo Contarini (1655–1656). 2x enlarged. ANS 1954.237.479.

¹ I am grateful to Stephen Album, Lutz Ilisch, Louis Jordan, John Kleeberg, and Philip Mossman, who commented on parts of this paper and/or provided important information.

² The Venetian version of the ducat, a widely respected gold denomination first introduced in 1130 by Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily. The Venetian *ducato* began production on October 31, 1284.

The term *zecchino* is derived from the word *zecca* (mint) which entered the Italian language from Arabic *sikka* (coining die or coin) via the intermediary of Spanish *zeca* (mint). The wide popularity of the gold *ducato/zecchino* as a trade coin meant that it was imitated in many other states in Europe in the sixteenth century and its Italian name entered other languages. In English and French the name of the denomination became corrupted as chequin or sequin and came to mean any gold coin of roughly the same weight as the Venetian *zecchino*. Outside of Europe, the Venetian *ducato/zecchino* even had an impact on the development of gold coinage in several of the major Islamic states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In 1477, the Ottoman Sultan, Mehment II Fetih (r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) introduced the gold *sultani* denomination (also known simply as the *altın* or "gold") as the Ottoman version of the *ducato/zecchino*. At 3.56 g and .980 fineness, the *sultani* was equivalent in value to its Venetian model, but could be easily distinguished by its failure to imitate the typology of the Italian coin. Instead of the types of Christ in glory and the Doge with St. Mark, which would have been very much out of place on a coinage struck by a Muslim ruler and in contravention to Islamic religious opposition to pictorial images of living things, the *sultani* featured Arabic script legends giving the names and titles of the reigning Sultan and identifying the issuing mint (Fig. 2).

A similar, but slightly lighter coin at 3.52 g, called the *ashrafi* ("noble") was introduced in Persia by Shah Ismail I (r. 1501–1524), the founder of the Safavid dynasty which competed with the Ottomans for supremacy in the Middle East (Fig. 3).

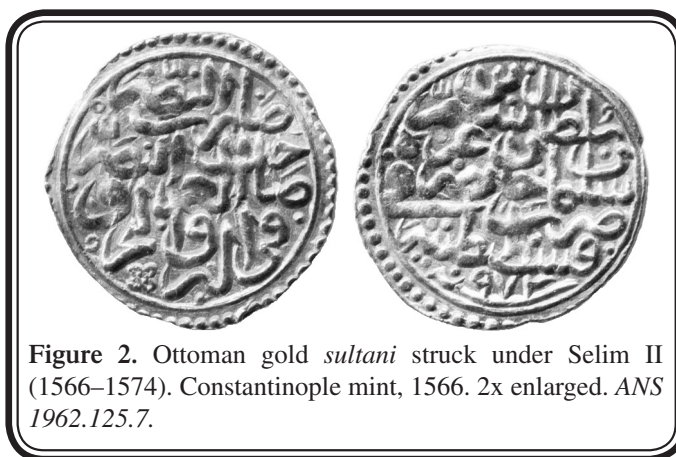


Figure 2. Ottoman gold *sultani* struck under Selim II (1566–1574). Constantinople mint, 1566. 2x enlarged. *ANS 1962.125.7*.

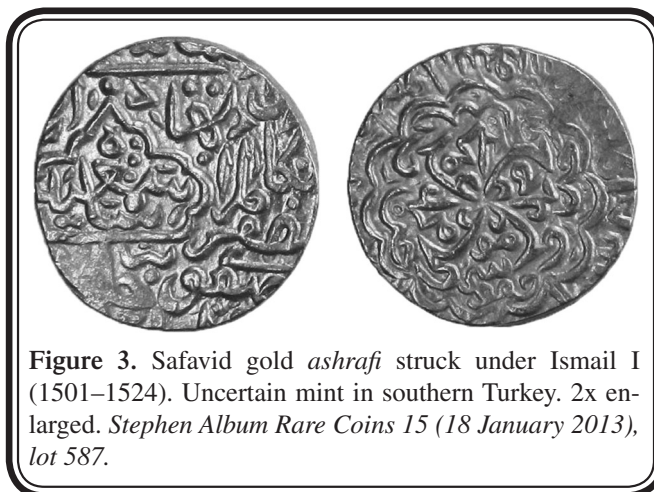


Figure 3. Safavid gold *ashrafi* struck under Ismail I (1501–1524). Uncertain mint in southern Turkey. 2x enlarged. *Stephen Album Rare Coins 15 (18 January 2013), lot 587*.

Because these Islamic coins matched the weight and fineness of the Venetian *zecchino*, the European merchants and bankers who received them through trade networks of the Middle and Far East treated them as another variety of the ubiquitous sequin or chequin. They were sometimes described as "Arabian chequins" to distinguish them from European coins based on the *zecchino* despite the fact that they were not actually struck by Arab authorities. They owe this description to the fact that they were most commonly obtained through the international spice, slave, and coffee trades carried on through the port cities of Yemen in the Arabian

Peninsula and the adjacent coast of East Africa.³ Both the Ottoman and Safavid Empires were connected with this trade.⁴

Some of these Arabian chequins are known to have been brought back to the English colonies of North America in the seventeenth century by maritime merchants involved in these trades or pirates who plundered such traders. Three Arabian chequins also occur in the probate inventory of the Norfolk County, VA, planter, William Knott, and one in the will of his fellow Virginian, Peter Cartwright.⁵ According to the report of John Oldmixon, in 1655, Arabian chequins were circulating in Virginia with a value of ten shillings.⁶

Pirate captains who attacked ships engaged in the Arabian trade regularly paid protection money in chequins to the Governor of New York, Col. Benjamin Fletcher (1692–1697).⁷ The standard rate for granting safe haven to a captain under Fletcher's administration seems to have been "12 pieces of Arabian Gold" along with other gifts.⁸ This protection racket ultimately brought down the ire of the East India Company and the Board of Trade on Fletcher and he was removed from office in 1697.

During his trial for corruption, Fletcher was asked whether Arabian chequins were a current money in New York, to which he responded:

their value is about two Dollars a piece; —that they were not the currant money of the Province; but were now pretty common there, and had been so since the arrival of captain Coates...not before.⁹

These remarks show that in New York in the 1690s, the Arabian chequin passed at par with the more familiar Spanish *escudo* on the old silver to gold ratio of 16:1. They also indicate that chequins first appeared in the colony in 1693, the year that Edward Coates, captain of the *Jacob*, fled to New York after taking part in a privateering venture against French shipping that ended in piratical attacks against English traders sailing the Indian Ocean.

The circulation of chequins in New York did not end with the removal of Fletcher. Giles Shelly, the captain of the *Nassau*, brought back many of the coins upon his return from Madagascar in 1699.¹⁰ In the same year, the New York ship, the *Margaret*, was seized by the East India Company along with its full freight, which included some 2,000 chequins.¹¹

3 One might also be tempted to suggest that the terminology derives from the fact that their legends are written in Arabic script, but the almost total ignorance of this written language in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries makes it far more likely that it comes from the association of the coins with the Arabian trade.

4 See the complex interrelationship of Ottoman and Safavid involvement in the Madagascar trade outlined in J. Kleeberg, "The Circulation of Leeuwendaalders (Lion Dollars) in England's North American Colonies, 1693–1733," *CNL* 152 (August 2013): 4044.

5 P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, vol. 2 (New York, 1896): 514–515

6 S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America* (Boston, 1875): 23.

7 NYCD 1854, 4: 223, 416, 480.

8 NYCD 1854, 4: 387.

9 NYCD 1854, 4: 469.

10 NYCD 1854, 4: 541–542. Ironically, his ship had also sailed with Coates and the *Jacob* in 1692–1693..

11 J. Judd, "Frederick Philipse and the Madagascar Trade," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 55 (1971): 372.

In 1700–1701, at the dawn of the new century, documents reveal the presence of Arabian chequins in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and North Carolina.¹² However, by this time, the frequent association of the coins with piracy is said to have made many individuals afraid to accept such gold, "lest if it should have been unlawfully taken from the Owners, it should kindle a fire to the consumption of...[the receivers'] whole Estate."¹³ Nevertheless, Benjamin Franklin reports that Arabian gold was rated at five shillings the pennyweight in Virginia in 1715.¹⁴

The flow of Arabian chequins to North America continued as late as the 1780s if the chequins mentioned by John Fiske as part of the American circulation pool were actually of the Arabian variety.¹⁵ This interpretation seems to be implied by the distinction that he makes between the gold ducat and the chequin, but caution is necessary since he also includes multiple terms for the Spanish-American half-real as if they were different coins.¹⁶ They were certainly still circulating in 1761, when they were valued at "Six *Shillings* and Three *Pence* the Penny-weight, and Three *Pence* every odd Grain" in South Carolina.¹⁷

What is most remarkable about the Arabian chequins besides the fact that they were brought to the New World is that they now seem to have completely disappeared from the North American find record. No archaeologist or metal detectorist appears to have reported the discovery of a *sultani* or an *ashrafi* in American soil.¹⁸ Perhaps the majority of these exotic coins were later melted down to create more familiar (to European eyes) golden objects or even counterfeit European-style coins. Alternatively, many were no doubt carried back to the ports of Yemen and East Africa by Anglo-American traders and pirates.

Since the presence of Arabian chequins in North America can be securely dated to the period c. 1650–1761, the coins described in the documentary sources were most likely Ottoman *sultanis* and Safavid *ashrafis* of the following rulers:

Ottoman Sultans	Safavid Shahs
Murad IV (r. 1623–1640)	Safi (r. 1629–1642)
Ibrahim (r. 1640–1648)	Abbas II (r. 1642–1666)
Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687)	Suleiman I (r. 1666–1694)
Suleiman II (r. 1687–1691)	Sultan Hoseyn I (r. 1694–1722)
Ahmed II (r. 1691–1695)	Tahmasp II (r. 1722–1732)
Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703)	Abbas III (r. 1732–1736)
Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730)	End of Dynasty
Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754)	
Osman III (r. 1754–1757)	
Mustafa III (r. 1757–1774)	

12 P. M. Hale, ed. *The State Records of North Carolina*, vol. 25 (Goldsboro, 1886): 142; W. Nelson, ed., *Calendar of New Jersey Wills*, vol. 23 (Paterson, NJ, 1901): 245 and 416; *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1864): 162.

13 *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1864): 162.

14 T. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London, 1787): 262.

15 J. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History 1783 to 1789* (Boston, 1888): 165.

16 See P. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993): 158, n. 64.

17 C. J. Milling, ed., *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions by Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen Johnston* (Columbia, 1951): 82.

18 No Arabian chequin finds are listed in J. Kleeberg, *Numismatic Finds of the Americas: An Inventory of American Coin Hoards, Shipwrecks, Single Finds and Finds in Excavations* (New York, 2009).

The Malden Hoard

While the disappearance of the Arabian chequin from North America seems to be total—without the documentary evidence there would be no way to know that coins of this denomination were ever here—copper coins of the Islamic world are sometimes encountered in American find contexts. The most dramatic of these must be the discovery of a small hoard of square Islamic coppers (Fig. 4) by Massachusetts road workers in 1787. The find was reported in Saturday, November 27, 1802 edition of the *Boston Weekly Magazine* (p. 19) and became the subject of a letter-article written by Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris to John Quincy Adams on November 5, 1808.¹⁹ Harris recounts that the coins were uncovered by road workers near Malden, MA, when they turned over a large stone. Harris and his friends procured some of the coins from the finders and proceeded to speculate wildly on their possible implications.

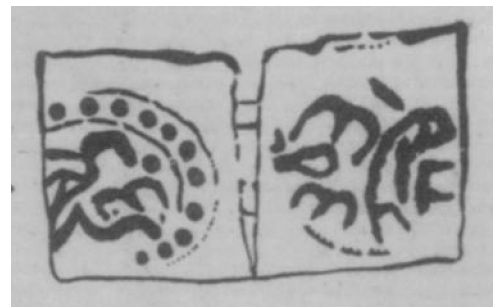


Figure 4. Engraved image of one of the Islamic copper coins from the Malden hoard as illustrated in Harris' letter. 2x enlarged.

Lacking access to appropriate numismatic works (the proper reading and interpretation of Islamic coins was still beyond the reach of most European numismatists of the period anyway), but noticing an engraving of a square coin (Fig. 5) in Philip John von Strahlenburg's *An Histori-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia; But More Particularly of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary* (1738),²⁰ Harris leaped to the conclusion that the coins uncovered near Malden were struck by peoples of the Central Asian Steppe (Great Tartary) who subsequently came to North America and became the ancestors of its various Native peoples.

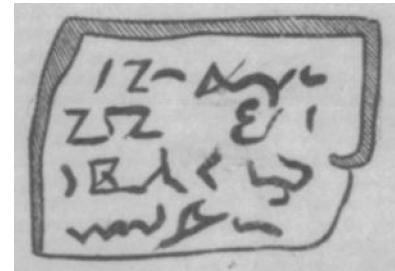


Figure 5. Islamic copper coin of "Great Tartary" illustrated by Harris after Strahlenberg and Marperger. 2x enlarged.

Notwithstanding the modern genetic, geological, and archaeological evidence suggesting that Paleo-Indians originally did enter North America from Siberia some 15–40,000 years ago, Harris' interpretation of the copper coins is deeply flawed. They cannot possibly have been struck by the forebears of any of the Native American peoples familiar to Harris for several reasons:

1. The invention of coinage does not predate the emergence of Indian cultures in North America. Coins were first struck in the West by the rulers of ancient Lydia (now in the

19 The letter was subsequently published in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 3.1 (1809): 195–196.

20 The engraving in Strahlenburg was actually reproduced from an engraving that appeared in Paul Jacob Marperger's *Der neu eröffnete Ritter-Platz* (Hamburg, 1706).

modern state of Turkey) in the seventh century BC.²¹ They were first produced in the East by the rulers of the Chinese states of Zhou and Qin in the third century BC.²² Both inventions significantly post-date the arrival of the first Paleo-Indians in North America, although Harris should perhaps be excused for not knowing this. In 1787, there would have been no way for an American to accurately guess how long Indian peoples had been settled on the continent before the first European contacts in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries AD.

2. Despite their extremely corrupt state in Harris' engraving, it is clear that the legends on the coins found near Malden were written in an Arabic script. Fully inscriptional Arabic coins were first struck in AD 696 in response to an escalating conflict with the Byzantine empire and to growing religious opposition to the artistic depiction of living things.²³ Such dating makes Harris' theory of coins brought by Central Asian progenitors of Native Americans even more ridiculous, but again he should be forgiven since he seems to have had no idea what sort of script or language he was looking at on the coins. Indeed, neither Strahlenburg nor his source, Paul Jacob Marperger's *Der neu eröffnete Ritter-Platz* (1709) indicate that they were aware that the script on the square coin from Great Tartary was Arabic.
3. Although the coin from the Malden find illustrated by Harris is similar to the piece from Great Tartary in that it too is struck on a square planchet, it is very clear that the arrangement of the legends on both coins is very different even in their completely corrupt states. Thus Harris is on extremely shaky ground when he interprets the Malden hoard coin as another Central Asian issue. Square coins were produced by Islamic states scattered across Spain, Portugal, North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Afghanistan, and India at various times from the tenth to the nineteenth century. The square shape, while unusual to European and American eyes, is hardly diagnostic.

Harris' attempt to grapple with the problem of identifying and interpreting the material from the Malden hoard is important as it may perhaps represent the very first (and unknowing) American foray into the then very much uncharted world of Islamic numismatics. Hampered by an understandably total ignorance of Arabic—both linguistically and as a writing system—as well as by ignorance of the long prehistory of the Native Peoples of North America before European contact his attempt was doomed to failure from the start and his conclusions now seem beyond belief. However, his attempt left us with a visual record of one of the first copper Islamic coins to be found in North America.

While the legends are too corrupt for even well-respected Islamic numismatic scholars like Dr. Lutz Ilisch of Tübingen University and Stephen Album to read part of them,²⁴ Harris' engraving shows that the inscriptional types were struck onto the square planchet using *circular* dies. This feature is at odds with Strahlenburg's and Marperger's coin of Great Tartary, which appears to have been struck with a die intended for a square planchet. The dotted circular border clearly visible in the engraving of the Malden hoard coin is reminiscent of that found on some square copper *fulus* (the plural an Islamic denomination derived from the *folles* denomination of the late Roman and Byzantine empires) struck by rulers of the Mamluk sultanate in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Fig. 6).

21 I. Carradice and M. Price, *Coinage in the Greek World* (London, 1988): 20–28.

22 For discussion and varieties, see A. Coole. *The Earliest Round Coins of China* (Boston, 1981).

23 For the development of the earliest Islamic coinage of the Umayyad Caliphate, see M. Bates, "The Coinage of Syria under the Umayyads, 692–750 A.D.," in J. al-Urduniyah (ed.), *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham during the Umayyad Period: Fourth International Conference: 24–29 October 1987* (Amman, 1989): 195–228.

24 Personal communications.

The Mamluks were a dynasty of Turkic and Circassian slave-soldiers who rose to power in Egypt after overthrowing their Ayyubid masters in 1250.²⁵ They ruled Egypt with parts of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine as independent sultans until 1517, when they were reduced to vassals of the expanding empire of the Ottoman Turks. The Mamluks remained the ruling class of Ottoman Egypt until 1811. On March 1 of that year, Muhammad Ali, an Ottoman *wali* (governor) of Egypt desirous of regional autonomy, had 600 of the leading Mamluks massacred as they processed to a dinner party in Cairo, thereby destroying their power irrevocably.

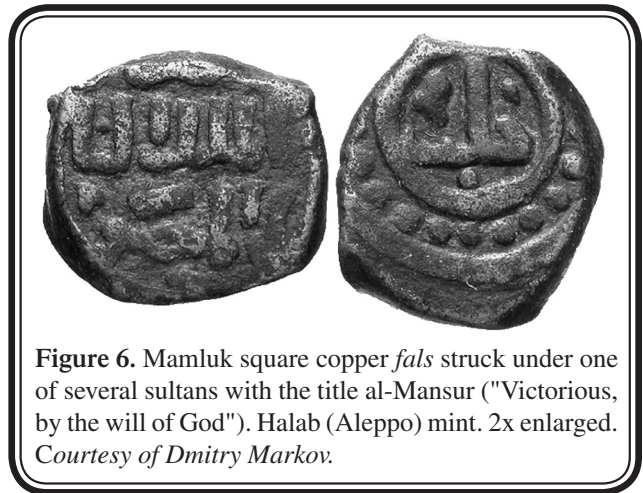


Figure 6. Mamluk square copper *fals* struck under one of several sultans with the title al-Mansur ("Victorious, by the will of God"). Halab (Aleppo) mint. 2x enlarged. *Courtesy of Dmitry Markov.*

Unfortunately, similarity in the treatment of a border between the Malden hoard piece and certain Mamluk coins does not bring us much closer to identifying the former. The Mamluks did not have a monopoly on dotted borders in the Islamic world and therefore it is impossible to attribute the Malden find coin to members of that dynasty with any certainty in the absence of a readable legend. Besides, it is difficult to imagine how and why a group of medieval coins might have travelled from Egypt or a neighboring Middle Eastern country to be found by road workers in the United States in the late eighteenth century.

At least one author has modified Harris' original view, suggesting that the coins might have been brought by Islamic sailors who visited North America long before Columbus made his historic voyage.²⁶ If Icelandic Vikings could settle in on the northern tip of Newfoundland—and archaeological evidence uncovered in the 1960s proves that they did at the end of the tenth century²⁷—then why not seafarers from medieval Egypt or some other part of the Islamic world? It is an open question, but a mysterious hoard of illegible coins lacking any kind archaeological context is far flimsier evidence for claiming pre-Columbian voyages than the full Viking settlement site at L'Anse aux Meadows. Lacking any other information it seems more reasonable to postulate that the coppers from the Malden find were brought to the New World as ballast or with the intention of melting them down by merchants trading in the Middle East. The possibility that they were included as bits of scrap metal for future melting may be supported by the presence of other unstruck triangular cut pieces among the coins.

American Mughal

Although perhaps almost as unexpected as the mysterious Islamic coins uncovered near Malden, an indisputable copper *dam* struck at the mint of Surat by the Mughal Emperor, Abul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-Din Mohammad Aurangzeb (1658–1707), found by archaeologists at Fort Pentagoet (Penobscot, ME) is much easier to explain in chronological and historical terms (Fig. 7).²⁸ This Islamic coin denomination, which is sometimes said to be the original source of the

25 The Ayyubid dynasty was founded in 1171 by Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, the famous Saladin who fought against Richard III in the Third Crusade. (1189–1192).

26 B. Fell, *Saga America* (New York, 1980): 26–30.

27 See now, H. Ingstad and I. S. Ingstad, *The Viking Discovery of America* (New York, 2001).

28 A. Faulkner and G. F. Faulkner, *The French at Pentagoet 1635–1674: An Archaeological Portrait of*

English pejorative expression, "I don't give a dam[n]," was first introduced in northern India by Sher Shah Suri, the breakaway ruler of the ephemeral Suri Empire (1540–1545). Following the repression of his dynasty by the restored Mughal Emperor, Nasir ud-din Muhammad Humayun (second reign, 1555–1556), the Suri *dam* and its associated silver and gold denominations (the rupee and *mohur*, respectively) were adopted as the standard currency units throughout the Mughal Empire.

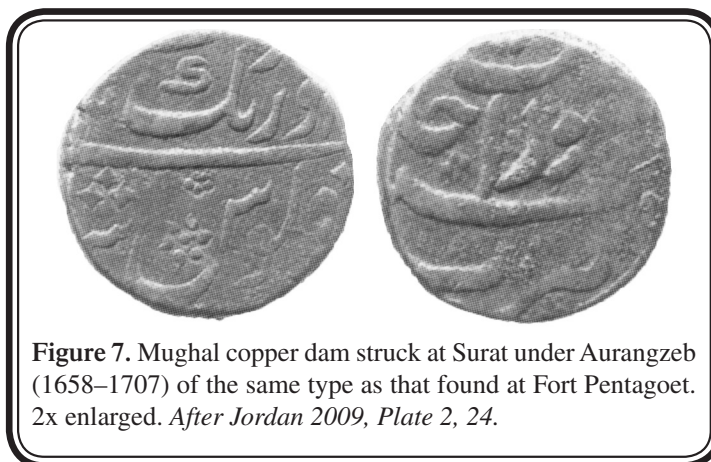


Figure 7. Mughal copper dam struck at Surat under Aurangzeb (1658–1707) of the same type as that found at Fort Pentagoet. 2x enlarged. After Jordan 2009, Plate 2, 24.

Founded in 1526 by Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, a descendant of the Mongol warlord, Genghis Khan, by 1690 the Mughal (derived from Mongol) Empire covered the bulk of what is now the modern state of India as well as Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan. However, the empire quickly began to disintegrate at the death of Aurangzeb under the weight of Hindu separatism. By 1793, a series of defeats at the hands of an expanding Hindu Maratha Empire and a steep decline in imperial revenue reduced the Mughal Empire to the immediate environs of the capital at Delhi. The pitiful remnants of the once great empire were absorbed into the British Raj after the last Mughal Emperor, Mirza Abu Zafar Sirajuddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah Zafar (r. 1837–1857), was deposed and sent into exile for his support of the Indian Mutiny (1857) against the British East India Company.

Presumably the coin of Aurangzeb came to Fort Pentagoet sometime between the beginning of production of *dams* in his name at Surat in 1658 and the destruction of the fort by the Dutch in 1674.²⁹ Louis Jordan has suggested that the period in which the coin arrived and was lost can be refined to 1658–1670, when the fort was held by the English.³⁰ This is certainly plausible, since the British East India Company had been engaged in the spice trade with the Mughal Empire from a settlement at the northwestern city of Surat since 1612. The French, who controlled Fort Penatgoet from 1636 to 1654 and again from 1670 to 1674, were late in establishing trading settlements on the Indian subcontinent. However, the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales* (the French East India Company) had gained its own foothold at Surat in 1668 before establishing its capital at Pondichéry on the southeastern coast of India, raising the possibility that the coin could have travelled to North America during the second French occupation of the fort. Regardless, it is fairly certain that the *dam* arrived in the context of the Far East trade. One can easily imagine it coming aboard a Company ship bringing tea and spices to the North American colonial market held captive by English and French mercantilist policies. The coin's base metal, completely alien Arabic script, and unfamiliar denomination will almost certainly have made it easy to lose without its owner spending much energy on its recovery.

the Acadian Frontier (Augusta, 1987): 259 and 265 n. 39; L. Jordan, "Coinage in the English Colonies of North America to 1660," in O. Hoover (ed.), *Newby's St. Patrick Coinage* (New York, 2009): 209.

29 For a survey of the fort's colorful history, see Faulkner and Faulkner 1987: 1–3 and Jordan 2009: 206, n. 34.

30 Jordan 2009: 209.

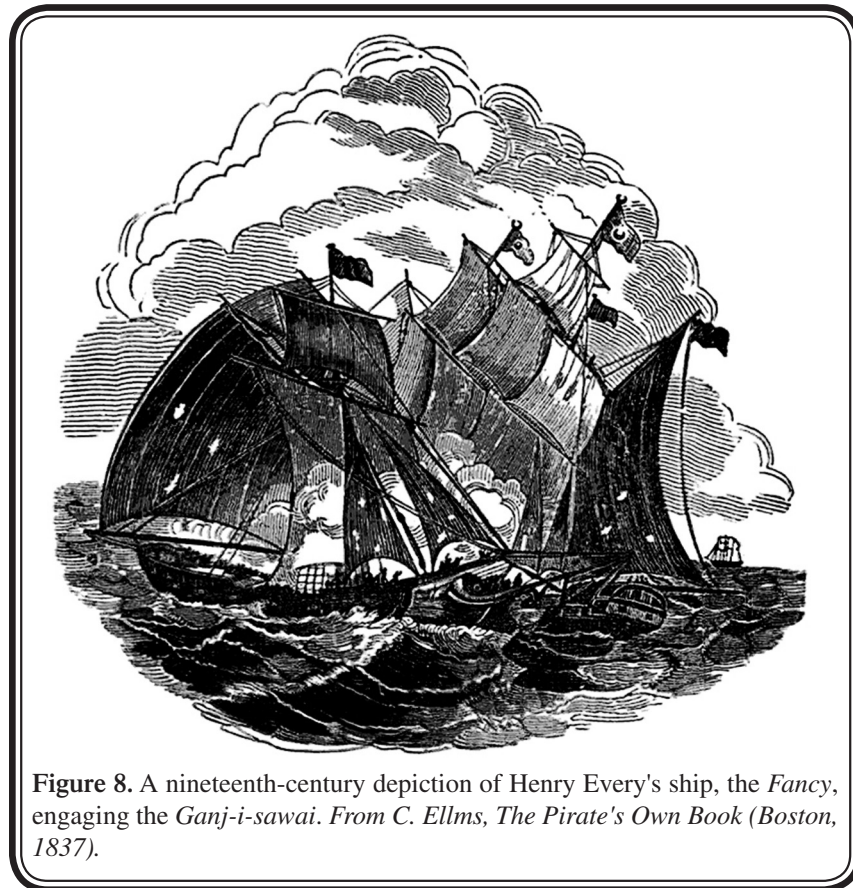


Figure 8. A nineteenth-century depiction of Henry Every's ship, the *Fancy*, engaging the *Ganj-i-sawai*. From C. Ellms, *The Pirate's Own Book* (Boston, 1837).

Although there is no corroborating find evidence, more valuable Mughal coins very well may have come to the North American colonies under much more exciting circumstances than the closely regulated mechanisms of colonial trade. In August 1695, a six-ship flotilla of largely Anglo-American privateers under the English pirate captain, Henry Every, successfully attacked a Mughal convoy returning from Mecca laden with riches. The first ship to be captured was the *Fateh Muhammed* (Muhammed the Conqueror"), which netted the pirates a cool £50–60,000 worth of treasure. The real jackpot came, however, when the 1,600-ton *Ganj-i-sawai* ("Exceeding Treasure") was taken and relieved of its contents: some £200–600,000 in gold, silver, and gemstones (Fig. 8).³¹ This remarkable success may have given Every and his associates the world record for the largest pirate haul in history, but the theft of treasure belonging to Aurangzeb and members of his court combined with abuses perpetrated on female and male captives aboard the *Ganj-i-sawai* quickly made them wanted men.

Infuriated by the pirate attack, Aurangzeb immediately took out his wrath on the British East India Company, which he already regarded with suspicion after its governor, Sir Josiah Child, had initiated the so-called Child's War (1686–1690) in an attempt to force him to grant a *firman* (royal decree) giving the Company trading rights throughout India. That conflict had ended with the Company's envoys prostrating themselves before the Emperor and begging his forgiveness. Now Aurangzeb prepared an army for a full-scale assault on the East India Company's base in Bombay (Mumbai) after closing several of its factories and imprisoning their workers and

³¹ J. Rogoziński, *Honor Among Thieves: Captain Kidd, Henry Every, and the Pirate Democracy in the Indian Ocean* (Mechanicsburg, PA, 2000): 85; R. Burgess, *The Pirates' Pact: The Secret Alliances Between History's Most Notorious Buccaneers and Colonial America* (New York, 2009): 138 and 144..

overseers. He vowed to put an end to all English trade in India, but reconsidered the plan to annihilate the Company after it made reparations and English Parliament put a price on Every's head.³²

While Every escaped to New Providence in the Bahamas aboard his ship, the *Fancy*, before disappearing forever, much of his crew continued on to seek safety with their loot in the English colonies

of North America. After all, many of their colleagues in the flotilla ranged against Aurangzeb's convoy had hailed from there. Every's men were reportedly seen in the Carolinas, New England and Pennsylvania, but their wealth made it difficult to arrest and convict them. William Markham, the Governor of Pennsylvania, was reportedly paid £100 per man to look the other way while they resided in his province.³³ This payment was most likely made in Mughal gold since John Dann, Every's coxswain who unwisely decided to settle in Kent, was arrested for piracy when it was discovered that he had sewn £1,045 in gold "sequins" into his waistcoat.³⁴ The sequins in question must have been Mughal coins otherwise they would not have served as incriminating evidence of his involvement in the attack on the *Ganj-i-sawai*, but since the Mughals never issued a gold coin to a standard comparable to that of the Venetian *zecchino*, the sequins in Dann's clothing must have been *mohurs* (11.01 g) (Fig. 9) or perhaps their half or quarter fractions. As the crewmembers of the *Fancy* who had gone to North America are even less likely than Dann to have been able to change their Islamic treasure into contemporary European-style coin it seems almost inescapable that Markham and others in authority were being bribed with Mughal gold.

Again, the apparently total absence of these valuable coins from the North American find record is remarkable and must be attributed to melting or sending to England to pay for goods and luxury items needed in the colonies. Still there remains a faint glimmer of hope that some fragment of the *Ganj-i-sawai* treasure might one day be found by a lucky metal detectorist or archaeologist in North American soil.

Swiss Mocha?

The validity of our hope that someday one of Aurangzeb's stolen coins or some other Arabian sequin might be found is underscored by a recent enquiry made to the American Numismatic Society. In October of this year, one of the producers of the National Geographic Television show, *Diggers*, asked for assistance in identifying a broken silver coin that had been unearthed by the star metal detectorists at Swiss Village Farm near Newport, RI. Although at the time of

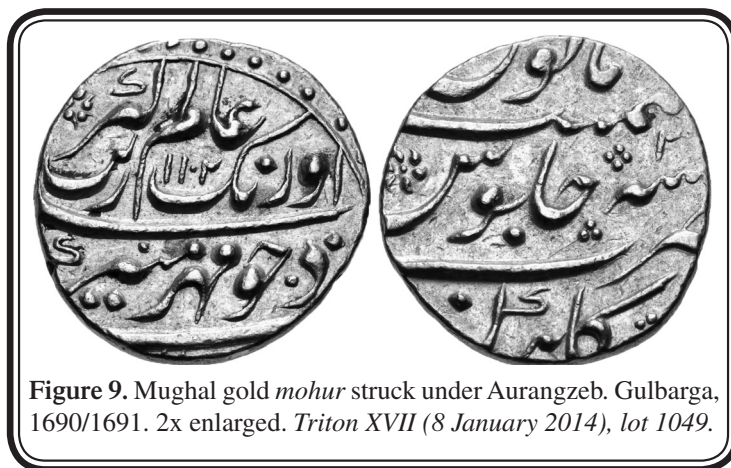


Figure 9. Mughal gold *mohur* struck under Aurangzeb. Gulbarga, 1690/1691. 2x enlarged. Triton XVII (8 January 2014), lot 1049.

32 A. Wright, *Annesley of Surat and His Times, the True Story of the Mythical Wesley Fortune* (London, 1918): 164; J. Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London, 1991): 187; D. R. Burgess, "Piracy in the Public Sphere: The Henry Every Trials and the Battle for Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Print Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 48.4 (2009): 891.

33 J. W. Fortescue (editor) (1905). "America and West Indies: May 1698, 11–14". *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, Volume 16: 1697–1698. Institute of Historical Research.

34 J. H. Baer, *Pirates of the British Isles* (London, 2002): 106.

discovery the coin was thought to be a worn Spanish-American one-real; it was subsequently realized that it carried an Arabic legend.

After showing images of the piece to several Islamic numismatic specialists, it was determined that the coin was a silver *khums kabir* ("large tenth") issued by the Qasimid *imams* (Muslim religious leaders) who ruled parts of Yemen—often subject to Ottoman domination—from 1597 until 1962 (Fig. 10). Dr. Ilisch was even able to decipher the worn name of the issuing *imam*, one Muhammad an-Nasir Ildin Ilah (r. 1686–1718). The apparent absence of the titles al-Hadi and al-Mahdi, both of which mean "the Guide," from the find coin indicates that it was struck during the first period of an-Nasir's rule (1685–1693). The mint name, al-Khadra ("the Green"), in northwestern Yemen, was clearly legible from the beginning.

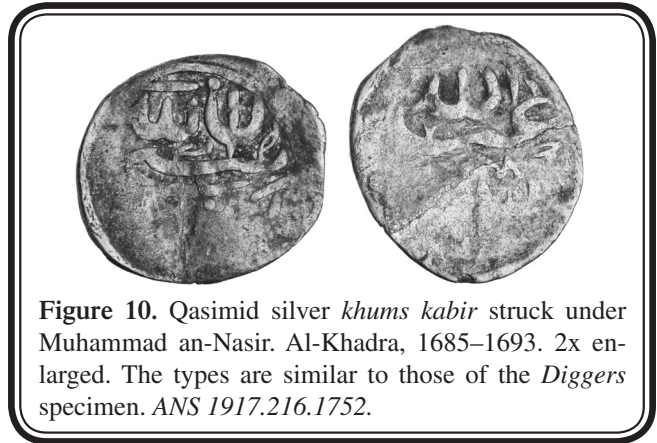


Figure 10. Qasimid silver *khums kabir* struck under Muhammad an-Nasir. Al-Khadra, 1685–1693. 2x enlarged. The types are similar to those of the *Diggers* specimen. *ANS 1917.216.1752*.

As an Ottoman vassal, Muhammad an-Nasir accrued immense wealth from the imamate's virtual monopoly of the international coffee trade carried on through the Yemeni port city of Mocha.³⁵ Nevertheless, he had a reputation as for arbitrarily executing subjects and faced several rebellions. He died in 1718 while his palace was besieged by a rival *imam*.³⁶

While Muhammad an-Nasir's coin could have reached the environs of Newport in the context of the coffee trade, its production at al-Khadra in northwestern Yemen and the known circulation of similar coins at Aden make it somewhat more probable that it came to North America through the East African slave trade.³⁷ This probability seems even greater when we consider that Newport became a major center for the importation of African slaves to north America from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century.³⁸ However, it is unclear how much the Newport slaving expeditions will have depended on the East African trade after the West African coast came to be dominated by English forts.

The episode of *Diggers* in which the Swiss Village Farm coin is uncovered is due to appear on the National Geographic Channel in spring 2014. Unfortunately, at the time of writing the precise air date was not yet available.

Conclusion

The varied documentary and find evidence for the movement of coins from the Islamic world to the Anglo-American colonies reveals a new and largely unsuspected (to many) element in the circulation pool of early colonial North America. As numerous trade expeditions were dispatched to the Indian Ocean from North American ports over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it may be that the coins discussed here represent only the tip of the iceberg and that other Islamic coins will be found in the future. Indeed, considering the initial

35 R. J. Gavin, *Aden under British Rule, 1839-1967* (London 1975): 16–20.

36 R. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *San'a'; An Arabian Islamic City* (London, 1983): 82–83.

37 Dr. Lutz Ilisch, personal communication.

38 E. F. Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island, in the Revolutionary Era* (Oxford, 1992): 17–18; K. Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (Oxford, 2007): 66.

confusion of the *Diggers* stars regarding their Qasimid *khums kabir*, there may already be American metal detectorists somewhere who have uncovered Islamic coins in their wanderings but do not realize what they have.

The author would be very grateful to hear of any other Islamic or suspected Islamic coins with North American find provenances.

ERRATA TO FROM CRIME TO PUNISHMENT ¹

by

Philip L. Mossman; Stuarts Draft, VA

When I published *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* in 1993, I was aware that as additional research came to light, my new book was bound to contain errors, typos, and omissions that would require future correction. Thus, two subsequent errata were published in *The Colonial Newsletter*, No. 106 (December 1997) and No. 130 (April 2006).

I make no excuse that I have been quite enthralled by Sylvester Crosby's application of Alexander Pope's catchy couplet to his 1875 classic:

*Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be.*²

I have often taken refuge in the rationalization articulated by this little rhyme and have even suggested an alternate subtitle, "A Proofreader's Disclaimer."³ Again I'm summoning Pope's poetry to expiate my latent dyslexia and definite left-right confusion. Unfortunately, after this present book had entered its final printing process, one significant and several minor faux pas were discovered to which I invite your attention.

Page xxii:

An omitted reference in the Bibliography from footnote 93: Mossman, "A Study in Serendipity."

Mossman, "A Study in Serendipity" = Philip L. Mossman, "A Study in Serendipity," *CNL* 136 (April 2008), pp. 3221–3224.

Page 20:

Second paragraph under Paper Money, line 5; a minor division error.

... falsifying a lowly eight-pence bill when there was a ~~48-shilling~~ 42-shilling note just aching to be copied? For an equal risk, why not gamble on a 72-times return on the investment of time and energy?

Page 38:

In the last sentence of page 38 and continued as the first line of page 39, the astute reader will realize I added 6d to 80d, rather than subtracting, so that the fictitious sum of **86d** per ounce is corrected to **74d**. Begging your concurrence, may the last two sentences on page 38 and the first on page 39 now read:

The statute launching the mint required Hull and Sanderson to deliver 80d from every troy ounce of silver (20 dwt) consigned to them. This sum, 80d, was further reduced by the combined total of a 1d allowance for wastage and the minters' commission of 5d, bringing the net recoverable total to 74d per ounce. Broken down even further, each full

¹ I am most appreciative to my colleague, Gary Trudgen, for his proofreading skills in composing this *Errata*.

² Crosby, *Early Coins*, p. iv; Mossman, *Money*, p. 12.

³ *Colonial Newsletter*, p. 2967.

weight 17½ dwt eight-reales, passing at 60d Massachusetts money, delivered to the mint to be converted into Massachusetts silver, would return 64¾d to the customer, of which 4¾d was his profit, after the combined deductions of 5¼d for the mintmasters' fees and their ¾d allowance for wastage.

Page 53:

Correct footnote 3 page to 5th edition.

3. Newman, *Paper Money*, p. 14.

Page 69:

In the third paragraph, line 6, there is a redundant "**their**."

... adopted this same technique from the time of Nero for their debased ~~their~~ silver coins ...

Page 93:

The last paragraph in the caption for Figure 4.33 has a left-right reversal.

An assay at the Tower Mint by Newton revealed .908 fine silver, 8.2% stronger than official pistareens. The ~~left~~ **right** arrow points to the oval base of the crown that is visible through the cheek of George III on the Machin's Mills halfpenny. The ~~right~~ **obverse** arrow points to the rim of the crown and the top of the shield whose remnants are still evident at Britannia's left shin and shield.

Page 107:

In the fourth line from top,

Fig. 4.49, is above.

Page 121:

In Figure 5.9, I misspelled the **GEORIVS** error and in four place wrote **GEOGIVS**.

Page 124:

Two errors: last line of 2nd paragraph: Not fig. 6.30.

See fig. 6.31, below.

Table 5.3: legend, omit **and**

As noted, the dates on the coins and do not necessarily represent the year ...

Page 129:

Footnote 112: an omitted word.

... to make exact change as the Massachusetts **currency** was being redeemed in 1750.

Page 142:

Two changes: in 3rd paragraph, 3rd line: change **that** for **than**.

... standard with the 1783-dated group being significantly heavier *than* the 1785 varieties.

Footnote 186: change **10-10** for **10⁻¹⁰**

Student's T test: $p = 4.9 \times 10^{-10}$.

Page 144:

Footnote 194 error.

See footnote ~~453~~ 192 and Mossman, *Money...*."

Page 146:

In line 6: (**Fig. 5.17 ~~below~~ above**).

Page 156:

In line 8: (**Figs. 6.9 and ~~6:27~~ 6.28, below**)

Page 157:

Figure 6.2: An omitted word.

This is Miller 5.4-G (152.9 grains) *and* is a representative... .

Page 158:

First paragraph, second sentence requires more explanation and a correction. **Seven** is added for clarity and **four** is corrected to **five**.

1787: The simplicity of the first two years of Connecticut coinage now gives way to the complexity of 1787-dated issues. To start, seven likely counterfeits with design similarities are the *five four* 1787-dated Miller obverses 1.1, 1.4, 3, 13, and 52, and their *seven* accompanying reverses. (1.1-A, 1.1-VV, 1.4-WW, 3-G¹, 13-D, 52-G¹, and 52-G²)

Page 166:

Two changes in "Table 6.3: Observed Weights of Connecticut Coppers."

Line 17: requires ***Nova Constellatio*** to be capitalized and italicized:

17. 1788 triples: o/s on *Nova Constellatio* coppers:

Line 19: please change the first MBR to Miller.

19. 1788 *Miller* ~~MBR~~ MBR 1-6: o/s on *Nova Constellatio* coppers.

Page 172:

Second full paragraph, second line from bottom — **the** is missing.

... there is **the** Maris 73-aa variety ...

Page 175:

First sentence — **the** is missing.

... from Machin's Mills in **the** 1789 period, ...

Page 178:

Line 4, an unnecessary **are**.

But there may be a common thread leading to Machin's Mills where we ~~are~~ have already identified a counterfeit Connecticut copper stamped over an equally counterfeit Massachusetts coin.

Page 181:

Two flaws; In the second paragraph, line 4 add **above**.

(Figs. 6.25, *above* and 6.26, *below*).

In footnote 104, change **!783** into a **1783!**

104. Moore, Rohrer and Rose, "1783-Dated Counterfeit Irish Halfpence."

Page 182:

Caption Figure 6.26, first line. Type with capital T.

Cast and struck counterfeits of George III *Type III* halfpence (1774–75 and 1781–82).

Page 192:

Footnote 152, fourth line: add **be**.

whose authenticity could not *be* guaranteed, ...

Page 198:

Two changes: first paragraph, line 4, more bills described

Likewise, the 1767, 1770, and 1774 Maryland bills denominated in dollars, although not legal tender, were payable in bills of exchange drawn and payable in London.

And footnote 3 corrected.

3. Newman, *Paper ~~Earliest~~ Money*, pp. 171-73.

Page 199:

Two errors: first full paragraph, line 9. Error in number.

... was thrown deeply into debt requiring the first-ever bank of £40,000 ~~£42,000~~ in bills of credit

Footnote 10.

10. Brock, *Currency*, pp. 32-34, ~~594-95~~, quotes p. 33. The outstanding bills of the colony in 1744 were £304,800 which increased to £2,135,300 by 1748.

Page 201:

Under paragraph, Handwritten bills, line 5.

(Fig. 1.46) change to (Fig. 1.15)

For improved clarity, a change in lines 2 and 3, footnote 12 continued from page 200:

... the bills were not completely legal tender because *import duties*, tonnage taxes, and lighthouse fees ...

Page 225:

Three corrections: Figure 9.4, the last line of caption has an omission.

A few of the very obvious distortions on the counterfeit are indicated by the red arrows, especially the “a” and “o” in the caption “State of New-York,” **the “S” in Dollars**, and the “l” in Interest **(lower left)**.

Line 6, change figs. 9.7 to 9.9.

(See figs. ~~9.7~~ 9.9 and 9.10, below.)

Last line on page, “form” becomes “from.”

... described as “badly executed and struck ~~from form~~ Copper-Plates,” ...

Page 226:

Second full paragraph, 7th line down:

(Figs. 9.5, *above*, and 9.6, *below*)

Page 233:

Footnote 62, line 3.

... fearing for his safety, permanently *moved* to New York.

Page 236:

Table 9.1 is in error for the abbreviation for Massachusetts:

Rows 4 to 6, the abbreviation for Massachusetts is MA, not MS.

Page 237:

Seventh line down under An Utterer's Tale:

...attached to the bottom ~~right~~ left of the original indictment... .

Page 249:

Two corrections: 2nd paragraph, line 5.

It was *no* ~~now~~ longer an option to finance emergency ...

and 3rd paragraph, line 1.

Further legislative action *by* ~~in~~ the Massachusetts General Court ...

Page 250:

Line 17 has two minor flaws:

Responding to the 1765 Stamp Act Riots, Bernard complained London was reckless to "levy taxes before she had sent troops to tighten her control over the *colonies*."⁵¹ After the Redcoats *arrived* three years later, the heightening insensitivity of the Tory government toward the innate constitutional rights of the colonists eventually escalated into a confrontation at Lexington and Concord a few miles down the road.

Page 251:

Footnote 55, 1st sentence:

55. Of the two 1775 New Hampshire emissions with a 6d denomination, neither had a £6 bill so Mr. *Orcut* ~~Orcut's~~ altered his 6d note to a fictitious denomination.

Page 254:

First paragraph, 2nd and 3rd lines have omitted words:

Scott qualifies the above statistics with the limitation that many other counterfeiters were not brought *to* trial if they turned king's evidence, further noting that it usually required the testimony *of* one or more accomplice to secure a conviction.

Page 255:

Third paragraph lines 12 and 13:

(See p. 237 ~~233~~ and *figs.* ~~fig.~~ 9.12 and 9.13, *above* ~~below~~)

Page 262:

Line 22:

... popular indifference towards *counterfeiting* ~~counterfeiter~~. As Scott summarized, ...

Page 263:

Line 4, a letter was dropped in **corrupting**.

While simultaneously professing loyalty to their sovereign and shamelessly *corrupting* his currency, ...

Sorry for any inconvenience; do you see any others?

FUGIO COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate VI (Forgeries and Replicas) by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

On April 21, 1787, the Continental Congress established a contract for producing a national copper coin in an attempt to combat the flood of lightweight counterfeit coppers that were damaging the economy. In the same year, on July 6, it was resolved that the new coin should weigh 157.5 grains and feature designs created by Benjamin Franklin for the Continental Currency dollar and fractional paper money in 1776. The obverse depicts a sundial with the mottoes, FUGIO ("I [viz. Time] Fly") and MIND YOUR BUSINESS, while thirteen linked rings, symbolizing the thirteen United States and the legend UNITED STATES, WE ARE ONE appear on the reverse.

Thanks to a large bribe to the head of the U.S. Treasury Board, the contract was awarded to James Jarvis, who was also involved with the production of Connecticut coppers. Jarvis had the dies cut by the Connecticut die maker, Abel Buell, but then found that he could only obtain locally thirty of the three hundred tons of copper he was required to convert into coin. He attempted to find the needed copper in England, while leaving his father-in-law, Samuel Broome, in charge of the minting operation. Broome used about four tons of the metal to produce some 400,000 FUGIO coppers, but used the remainder to produce lighter and more profitable Connecticut coppers. When the Congress discovered what had happened, it voided the contract on September 16, 1788, and subsequently resolved to seek restitution. Jarvis wisely decided to remain in Europe. His father-in-law soon joined him there after selling the mint equipment to the New York coiner and counterfeiter, Thomas Machin. Abel Buell also seems to have fled the United States after passing his tools on to his son, Benjamin.

The great popularity of FUGIO coppers with collectors has led to their frequent recreation in replica form or as outright forgeries intended to deceive the unwary. Perhaps the most famous incident of deception in the history of the series is that of the so-called "New Haven restrikes." In 1858, the prominent collector and businessman Horatio N. Rust acquired six FUGIO dies in Connecticut—one in Bridgeport and five in New Haven. These were characterized as Buell's original dies, but they were actually imitation dies produced by the Scovill Manufacturing Company in Waterbury, CT, in the 1850s. Whether Rust knew the true origins of the dies or not remains an open question, but he proceeded to use them to strike 300–400 imitations in copper and several others in silver and gold.

The ANS collection contains three of Rust's "new Haven restrike" dies—one obverse (no. 51) and two reverse (nos. 52–53) and three imitation FUGIO coppers (nos. 54–56) derived from them. The dies were donated to the Society by the Scott Stamp and Coin Company of New York City in 1894 and 1895. Coin no. 54 entered the cabinet in 1911 as part of a large group of coins bequeathed by Isaac J. Greenwood, one of the original incorporators of the ANS. The second specimen (no. 55) is a joined copper electrotype with a white metal core that was part of a gift to the Society made by the wife of the noted Philadelphia coin dealer, Henry Chapman, in 1949. The last example, coin no. 56, is a struck specimen that came to the ANS

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Philip Mossman and Jeff Rock.

in a collection of counterfeit coins donated a decade later by another Philadelphia coin dealer, Catherine E. Bullowa.

The last two coins (Nos. 57–58) on the plate are cast copper replicas of Newman 16-N produced by Peter Rosa's Becker Reproductions company. They were given to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Byron White in 1989. A slightly more worn version of the same piece—now with the legally required COPY stamp applied to it—is still produced in the Bronx by Rosa's nephew, Charles Doyle (see <http://www.coinreplicas.com/fugio-copper-cent-1787-5>).

Catalog

Iron "New Haven Restrike" Dies

Incuse mirror image: *FUGIO.* / *1787*. Sun shining on sundial. In exergue, MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

51. 34mm, 1566.1 grains. ANS 1894.6.1.

Incuse mirror image: UNITED * STATES * on raised ring. Within, WE ARE ONE. Thirteen linked rings.

52. 34mm, 1476.9 grains. ANS 1894.6.2.

53. 34mm, 1458.9 grains. ANS 1895.19.1.

Newman 104-FF ("New Haven Restrikes")

Obv. *FUGIO.* / *1787*. Sun shining on sundial. In exergue, MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

Rev. UNITED * STATES * on raised ring. Within, WE ARE ONE. Thirteen linked rings.

54. 28mm, 145.2 grains. ANS 1911.105.679.

55. 28mm, 211.65 grains. Joined copper electrotpe with white metal core. ANS 1949.98.422.

56. 28mm, 166.89 grains. ANS 1949.98.422.

Becker Reproductions Newman 16-N

Obv. *FUGIO.* / *1787*. Sun shining on sundial. In exergue, MIND♦YOUR♦ BUSINESS.

Rev. UNITED * STATES * on raised ring. Within, WE ARE ONE. Thirteen linked rings inscribed with the names of the original United States.

57. 27mm, 158.03 grains. ANS 1989.99.184.

58. 27mm, 164.2 grains. ANS 1989.99.185.

**FUGIO COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

**Plate VI
(Forgeries and Replicas)**



51



52



53



54



55



56



57



58

CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

**Plate XI: 1786
(Miller 2.1-A to 3-D.1)**

by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

The Confederation period copper coinage of the state of Connecticut was legally struck in New Haven by the Company for Coining Coppers from November 12, 1785, to June 1, 1787. From June 1, 1787, to the Fall of 1788, Connecticut coppers continued to be struck by James Jarvis and Company. The types essentially consisted of modified versions of the royal bust obverse and Britannia reverse familiar from contemporary English halfpence. The Latin regal legends were replaced by new ones that identified the coppers as being issued by the authority of Connecticut (AUCTORI CONNEC) and advertised American independence and liberty (INDE ET LIB). This coinage was popular, spawning imitative issues struck for Vermont and numerous illegal counterfeits. The problem of counterfeiting combined with apparent mint irregularities led to a state inquest in January of 1789. On June 20, 1789, the right to produce state coppers for Connecticut was officially terminated by the federal government.

The collection of Connecticut coppers maintained by the American Numismatic Society may be one of the most complete in existence and contains the vast majority of the die varieties recorded in Henry C. Miller's *The State Coinage of Connecticut* (New York, 1920). The Society's Connecticut holdings are so extensive due to two major gifts in the early twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 1931, the Frederick Canfield collection of Connecticut coppers (285 pieces) was loaned and subsequently donated to the ANS by the New Jersey Historical Society. In 2005, the American Numismatic Society acquired the Connecticut collection of Edward R. Barnsley (1131 pieces) thanks to the generosity of James C. Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation.

This eleventh plate in a series to fully publish the Connecticut coppers in the ANS cabinet includes three pieces from the Canfield collection (Nos. 104–105 and 109) and six from the Barnsley/CNLF gift (Nos. 101–103, 106, 108, and 110). One coin (No. 107) lacks its provenance information.

Coin no. 106 is worthy of additional comment as it is an example of the extremely rare (two known according to the *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*) contemporary counterfeit Miller 2.3-T variety. The ANS piece is particularly notable for its visible shield blazon: a Union Jack rather than the usual state arms consisting of three grape vines. This feature would seem to indicate that the counterfeiter was actually taking Vermont coppers (1787–1788) for his reverse die model despite the 1786 date. A Vermont reverse die dated 1788 (RR-39) is known paired with a Connecticut obverse (Miller 1-I), perhaps suggesting that Miller 2.3-T was struck in 1788 or even later.

The Canfield coins all have white painted die varieties (PDV) on the obverse giving the respective Miller numbers. As coin no. 107 also has a similar PDV it seems likely that this too originally belonged to Frederick Canfield.

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Randy Clark, Louis Jordan, and Philip Mossman.

In the Miller die sequence 2.1-A to 3-D.1 the ANS currently lacks examples of the counterfeits, 2.3-T, 2.4-U, 2.5-V, and 2.6-BRI. These rare coins are fully discussed by Jeff Rock in "Corrigenda Millerensis Revisited," *CNL* 31 (May 1991): 1242–1257 and Randy Clark, "Taxonomy Changes for a Family of Crude Connecticut Coppers," *C4 Newsletter* 8.3 (Fall 2010): 4–21.

Catalog

Obv. Legend as indicated. Laureate and cuirassed bust right, imitating regal halfpence of George III.

Rev. Legend as indicated. Liberty/Columbia/Connecticut seated left on globe, holding olive branch and pole topped by liberty cap; grounded shield with state arms (three grape vines) or Union Jack (No. 106) beside. In exergue, 1786.

Miller 2.1-A

- 101. 28mm, 99.0 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / ET LIB INDE. ANS 2005.37.417.
- 102. 28mm, 101.7 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / ET LIB INDE. ANS 2005.37.418.
- 103. 28mm, 101.7 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / ET LIB INDE. ANS 2005.37.419.

Miller 2.1-D.3

- 104. 29mm, 149.5 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ET LIB. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (2¹D³ in left field and M on right). ANS 1931.58.437.

Miller 2.2-D.2

- 105. 27mm, 116.9 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ET LIB. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (2²D² in left field and M on right). ANS 1931.58.438.
- 106. 27mm, 122.3 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ET LIB. ANS 2005.37.420.
- 107. 28mm, 115.1 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ET LIB. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (2²D² in left field and M on right). ANS 0000.999.19827.

Miller 2.3-T

- 108. 28mm, 173.4 grains. AUCTORI. CONNEC. / INDE. ET LIB. [D reversed]. Union Jack on shield. ANS 2005.37.421.

Miller 3-D.1

- 109. 29mm, 175.4 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE ET LIB. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (3 D¹ in left field and M on right). ANS 1931.58.439.
- 110. 28mm, 97.0 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE ET LIB. ANS 2005.37.34.

CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate XI: 1786
(Miller 2.1-A to 3-D.1)



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



108



109



110

NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate XI: 1787 (Maris 43-d to 45-e)

by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

The partnership of Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby, and Albion Cox received a two-year contract to produce three million copper coins for the state of New Jersey on June 1, 1786. Their coins carried the obverse type of a horse head and plow derived from the state seal and an American shield on the reverse. The legends give the Latin name of the state (NOVA CAESAREA) and present the national motto of the United States (E PLURIBUS UNUM) for the first time on any coin. By the Fall of 1786 the partners had fallen into disagreement and divided the coinage quota between a mint operated by Goadsby and Cox at Rahway, near Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), NJ, and another operated by Mould near Morristown, NJ. Further problems developed in 1788. Mould ceased his involvement with the coinage at this time and Cox faced litigation by his creditors and by Goadsby, which resulted in the seizure of the mint equipment. By the middle of the year, the remainder of the coining contract and the Rahway mint equipment had been obtained by Matthias Ogden, the primary mover behind the New Jersey coinage legislation. Despite having access only to dies dated 1786 and 1787, Ogden continued to strike New Jersey coppers at his barn in Elizabethtown until as late as 1790.

The American Numismatic Society's holdings of New Jersey coppers are extensive, thanks to the New Jersey Historical Society's donation of duplicates from the Frederick Canfield collection (24 pieces) in 1931 and the purchase of a large part of the Harry Prescott Clark Beach collection (829 pieces) from Henry Grünthal in 1945. Grünthal, who had studied numismatics in Germany, later went on to become Assistant to the Chief Curator and Curator of European and Modern Coins at the ANS from 1953 to 1973. Most of the die varieties identified by Edward Maris in *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1881) may be found in the ANS collection. For a complete listing of varieties discovered since 1881, see now, Roger Siboni, John Howes, and Buell Ish, *New Jersey State Coppers* (New York, 2013).

On this eleventh plate in a series to fully publish the New Jersey coppers belonging to the American Numismatic Society, one piece (No. 104) is a Canfield coin and six others (Nos. 101, 105–106, and 108–110) come from the 1945 Beach/Grünthal purchase. The remaining three coins (Nos. 102–103 and 107) lack all provenance information.

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, and Raymond Williams.

Catalog

Obv. NOVA CÆSAREA, around. Head of horse right, above plow right; in exergue, 1787.

Rev. *E*PLURIBUS*UNUM*, around. American shield emblazoned with a field of argent, six pales gules, and a chief azure.

Maris 43-d

- 101. 27mm, 142.7 grains. ANS 1945.42.708.
- 102. 27mm, 150.1 grains. ANS 0000.999.28481.
- 103. 27mm, 153.2 grains. ANS 0000.999.28482.

Maris 44-c

- 104. 27mm, 138.6 grains. ANS 1931.58.519.
- 105. 27mm, 140.5 grains. ANS 1945.42.709.

Maris 44-d

- 106. 27mm, 158.1 grains. ANS 1945.42.710.
- 107. 27mm, 151.5 grains. ANS 0000.999.28483.

Maris 45-d

- 108. 27mm, 149.5 grains. ANS 1945.42.711.
- 109. 27mm, 149.6 grains. ANS 1945.42.712.

Maris 45-e

- 110. 27mm, 151.0 grains. ANS 1945.42.713.

**NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

**Plate XI: 1787
(Maris 43-d to 45-e)**



101



102



103



104



105



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107



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110

MASSACHUSETTS BAY SILVER IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate IV: Oak Tree Shillings (Noe 5 to 9 / Salmon 3-D to 7-Ei)

by
Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

On May 26–27, 1652, the Massachusetts General Court issued Acts for the establishment of a silver mint in Boston as a measure of protection against the increasing problem of light weight Spanish-American cobs circulating in Massachusetts Bay. The Boston silversmiths, John Hull and Robert Sanderson were appointed to operate the mint. They were required to produced coins of sterling (.925) fineness in English denominations, but at a reduced weight standard of 72 grains to the shilling. The official weight of the contemporary English shilling was 92.9 grains.

Between 1652 and 1682, Hull and Sanderson struck four series of silver coins for Massachusetts Bay. The earliest of these, produced in June–October 1652, consisted of crude, blank planchets marked with two stamps: NE for New England on the obverse and a value mark in Roman numerals on the reverse. Legislation was passed, on October 19, 1652, to abandon this simple design in favor of a more coin-like design produced by full-size dies. The obverse of the new coinage featured a willow tree, while the English legend, MASATHVSETS IN / NEW ENGLAND AN DOM was placed in the border, broken between the obverse and reverse. The 1652 date of the original mint legislation and the value indicator also appeared in the center of the reverse. The willow tree coinage continued in production until c. 1660 or 1662, when the willow on the obverse was replaced by an oak tree. The change in tree was also accompanied by a change in production technology. While the willow tree coinage had been struck by hand, the new oak tree series was struck in a rocker arm press. In c. 1667, the tree was again changed, this time from an oak to a pine. The pine tree coinage—the most enduring of the Massachusetts silver series—was struck until 1682, when the mint contract expired. Hull died the following year. Although sporadic attempts were made to revive the mint until 1690, these were quashed by the restored Stuart kings, Charles II (1659–1685) and James II (1685–1688), and finally put to rest by the increased value of silver and restored confidence in Spanish-American coins at the end of the 1680s.

The cabinet of the American Numismatic Society is home to some 151 authentic pieces of Massachusetts Bay silver of all four series, as well as a large selection (70 pieces) of electrotypes and fakes. The core of the collection is almost certainly the 51 pieces donated by the prominent New York collector, William B. Osgood Field, in 1946. The ANS collection includes most of the varieties identified by Sydney P. Noe in his three major studies: *The New England and Willow Tree Coinage* (1943), *The Oak Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (1947), and *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (1952), as well as in Christopher Salmon's recent review and reassessment of the coinage, *The Silver Coins of Massachusetts* (2011).

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, and Christopher Salmon.

This fourth plate in a series to fully publish the Massachusetts Bay silver coins belonging to the American Numismatic Society features ten further Oak Tree shillings. Of the coins illustrated here, several were donated to the ANS by their owners. Three pieces (Nos. 29, 35, and 37) come from the Osgood Field gift and one (No. 30) was bequeathed to the Society by the noted Texas petroleum geophysicist and coin collector Arthur J. Fecht. His collection of some 3,000 coins was given to the ANS upon his death in 1945 with the stipulation that it could not officially enter the Society's cabinet until after the death of his sister. She outlived her brother until 1979. The other coins illustrated here were purchased from dealers like Carl Würtzbach (No. 32) and some of the great colonial coin companies of the mid-twentieth century: the St. Louis Stamp and Coin Company (No. 31), the New Netherland Coin Company (No. 33), and Stack's (No. 34). Coin no. 36 was purchased in 1932, but the name of the seller is unrecorded. The first shilling (No. 28) has no provenance information beyond the date (1939) that it entered the collection.

Coin no. 30 is notable as it is a fraction cut from a n Oak Tree shilling to make change. With a weight of 11.6 grains it was probably intended to have the value of two pence in Massachusetts money.

In the die sequence from Noe 5 to 9 (Salmon 3-D to 7-E) the ANS currently lacks an example of Noe 8 (Salmon 6-E).

Catalog

Obv. Willow tree. MASATHVSETS·IN· around.

Rev. 1652 XII in center. NEWENGLAND·AN·DOM· around.

Noe 5/Salmon 3-D

- 28. 26mm, 71.7 grains. ANS 1939.99.3.
- 29. 28mm, 69.6 grains. ANS 1946.89.86.
- 30. 28mm, 72.0 grains. ANS 1980.109.2207.

Noe 6/Salmon 4-D

- 31. 26mm, 11.6 grains. Cut fraction. ANS 1942.50.1.
- 32. 28mm, 71.6 grains. ANS 1942.54.8.
- 33. 26mm, 61.5 grains. ANS 1951.155.6.

Noe 7/Salmon 5-D

- 34. 26mm, 71.9 grains. ANS 1944.94.4.
- 35. 28mm, 68.3 grains. ANS 1946.89.80.

Noe 9/Salmon 7-Ei

- 36. 29mm, 70.3 grains. ANS 1923.160.3.
- 37. 26mm, 70.5 grains. ANS 1946.89.87.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY SILVER IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate IV: Oak Tree Shillings
(Noe 5 to 9 / Salmon 3-D to 7-Ei)



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



35



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